

EVOLUTION OF A 'LITERARY MAN':
THE 1723 ACCOUNTS OF EDMUND HERBERT

A Thesis

by

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the 1723 accounts and memoranda of Royal Marine Paymaster, Edmund Herbert. As reflected in his expenses and notes, Herbert was unique in his prolific book collecting and multilingual studies. 1723 marks a critical economic, domestic, and social point in the development of this behavior for Herbert, and will serve as a case study in exploring individual factors in this form of participation in eighteenth century English print culture and genteel society. To this end, priority is given to the precise identification of Herbert's 1723 book titles and creation of the corresponding appendix located at the end of the essay. Emerging trends in book purchases, alongside Herbert's methodology, language studies, and non-literary expenses, will be explored thematically on three levels: the relationship between Herbert's accounting practices and domestic life, Herbert's non-lingual book purchases and their role in Herbert's social status, and the multilingual nature of Herbert's language studies as they progressed throughout 1723. By analyzing the significance behind Herbert's selections in books and their relationship to other immediate factors, this essay aims to reconstruct the motivational causes of Herbert's behavior, both at a private and socially-driven level, with attention given to the application of these findings to larger discussions of eighteenth century book collecting and language study.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

... in London ... there is great liberality among literary men, a ready disposition to interchange communications, which may be mutually useful, to accommodate one another with the loan of books, to point out sources of information, indeed to carry on, by a sort of common treaty among one another, a pleasant, friendly, and profitably commerce.¹

This essay is about Edmund Herbert. More specifically, it is about one facet of Herbert at a particular moment. Herbert was an English gentleman living in London through the first half of the eighteenth century. He spent his life working in state finance, was never married, and built a comfortable life. Reconstructing the man could produce many different individualities, each worth attention, because Herbert was a many-sided person. However, in this essay I will examine Herbert for his role as prolific book collector. Just as strongly as Edmund built a professional life around accounting, he built a gentleman's life around books. For this purpose I have chosen to focus on a specific stage in the formation of Edmund's world as a man of books. I trust it will provide a starting point for understanding his motives and providing a glimpse into the formation of 'literary men.'

Throughout the majority of his life, Herbert kept meticulous personal accounts.²

These were recorded on long strips of paper, one for each month, bound at the header to

¹ William Beloe, *The Sexagenarian*, 2 vols, (1817) I, 197. Quoted by Robin Myers in "William Herbert: His Library and His Friends," in *Property of a Gentleman*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: Oak Knoll Press, 1991), 133.

² Edmund Herbert's expense accounts and memoranda, Herbert Family Papers, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, Box 11, HE 100 (1-53).

form a ledger book. Herbert itemized daily expenses on the front side of the page, often in the form of generic notes but frequently with detailed information about certain expenses. Among these selected expenses were Herbert's books, whose purchases he was careful to record in the accounts. On the back side of each sheet, Herbert devoted space to memoranda – personal notes, comments about significant dates, and business transactions. With records fully running from 1708 to 1733 and 1739 to 1768, these sources provide a unique and detailed vantage point for following Herbert's private experiences in print culture and London society.

The heart of this essay is the documenting of Herbert's book purchases in 1723,³ a highly formative year in Herbert's collecting and language study. I will begin by briefly identifying Edmund Herbert and providing a rationale for the methodology and selection of 1723. This will be followed by a contextualization of Herbert within the London book trade and against the backdrop of other collectors. Finally, I will discuss Herbert's 1723 accounts through the lens of three different analytical themes: the practice of Herbert's bookkeeping and its domestic role, the diversity of meaning contained in Herbert's non-lingual books, and Herbert's motivation for comprehensive language study.

Edmund Herbert was born in 1685, the son of Thomas Herbert, bailiff to the Duke of Grafton in Whittlebury, Northamptonshire.⁴ Edmund's brother, Thomas

³ Edmund Herbert's expense accounts and memoranda, HE 100 (16).

⁴ Online Archive of California, "Inventory of the Herbert Family Papers, 1667 – 1780," last modified 2000, accessed March, 2015, <http://pdf.oac.cdlib.org/pdf/huntington/mss/herbertf.pdf>.

remained in Whittlebury and took up his father's former position.⁵ Little is known of Edmund's life in Northamptonshire. He is known as a young man primarily through an indirect connection with Sir Cloudsley Shovell, and an expedition to the Scilly Islands Herbert joined in 1712 to help recover Shovell's naval cargo. A reading by James Herbert Cooke at the Society of Antiquaries in London, 1883, would later cite a transcript written by Edmund in 1712 detailing the exploits of the tour, but also revealing Herbert's age, allowing us to estimate a date of birth.⁶ Edmund's primary interest in joining the recovery mission was likely economic given his unemployment and that he was "... pushing his fortunes by the exertion of such family and other interest as he possessed."⁷

Without work, Herbert left Northamptonshire and relocated to London looking for employment. Soon after his return from the Scilly Isles, Herbert was hired under Marine Pay Office clerk Arthur Swift.⁸ This would begin the development of Herbert's lifetime career with the Marine Pay Office, starting with his work under Swift and building off a previous apprenticeship in his youth with paymaster Walter Whitefield.⁹ Herbert's younger years of searching for work would stand in sudden contrast to his developing career. Though his income may have fluctuated and was entirely absent in early years, Herbert never seems to have been without some form of credit.¹⁰ By 1715,

⁵ Online Archive of California.

⁶ HMSSurprise.org., "The Shipwreck of Sir Cloudesley Shovell," last modified May 17, 2005, accessed March, 2015, <http://www.hmssurprise.org/shipwreck-sir-cloudesley-shovell#1a>.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Online Archive of California.

⁹ John A. Schutz, "British Marine Accounting and Auditor Edmund Herbert," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (May 1957): 270.

¹⁰ Online Archive of California.

Herbert had saved enough of his money to purchase Shrob Lodge in Whittlebury Forest, an estate that would remain his throughout life.

CHAPTER II

METHODS

The foundation of this study is the transcription, identification, and cataloguing of Herbert's 1723 book expenses and creation of the appendix. The appendix serves as both the primary body of work for the study and the constant reference point for the analyses conducted. All works specified throughout the study are cited according to their catalogued titles in the appendix. The objective of the appendix is to categorize each of Herbert's 1723 book purchases to the precise edition as accurately as possible based on available information in Herbert's notes, incorporating the author, publication date, book size, reference code, and price as criteria. Where lacking details in the accounts preclude identifying an exact edition, the larger body of uniform work and its author is classified instead. In doing so, every effort has been made to locate the specific content Herbert was accessing in 1723.

Choosing 1723

The choice of 1723 as a case study is a critical part of the essay. Though in one sense this date range is somewhat arbitrary, it represents an appropriate sample both in terms of the records themselves and in proximate factors concerning Herbert's life. Because Herbert's accounts are kept on an annual basis in fastened collections of expense ledgers, a single year signifies a natural break in samples. That is not to say that Herbert's yearly behavior is discreet, and notable connections to related entries outside

of the 1723 range are mentioned in the analysis. 1723 represents a suitable case for the scope of the analysis because of the number of book expenses recorded, 125 in total. Though the choice of an annual sample and the volume of books is appropriate for a project of this size, the limitations of these selections are recognized and discussed further in the conclusion. Even with these sampling considerations aside, 1723 was chosen primarily based on the incidence of key features in Herbert's person and behavior.

1723 was a significant year in Herbert's life in relation to combined elements of his book collecting and subject interests, language study, living arrangement, profession, and social network. With the exception of early accounts in 1708-1710, Herbert had not previously noted book expenses at so prolific a volume as he did in the years leading up to 1723. Between 1711 and 1718, Herbert's book purchases did not exceed 29 in a single year and were typically much lower. However, starting with a low of six total book expenses in 1718, Herbert's collecting habits quickly increased with 15, 38, 43, 179, and 125 total book purchases noted for 1719-1723, respectively. Though Herbert's massive set of expenses in 1722 signified the most obvious point of change in Herbert's collecting, it was accompanied by an uncharacteristic income injection resulting in total 1722 earnings of £1357.¹¹ This was the result of regimental account audits which furnished Herbert with a substantial amount of fees that were uncharacteristic throughout the remainder of his accounts.¹² Herbert's growing behavior in collecting grew to

¹¹ Ray A. Kelch, "Edmund Herbert: From Villager to Londoner," in "Report of Proceedings," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 5, no. 2 (Summer 1973): 144.

¹² Kelch, 144.

voluminous levels leading up to 1722 and smoothed to an average in 1723 more typical of subsequent years. In this sense, 1723 serves as an effective point of entry as the beginning of Herbert's large scale book collecting in exception to more outlying cases such as 1722.

In terms of subject matter, the years leading up to 1723 also symbolized major increases in Herbert's private study of languages. Though Herbert owned a handful of grammars by 1719, it was not until 1720 that he began to widely invest in language books. Even then, these volumes did not reach their distinctive levels of abundance until 1722, and by 1723, language works made up approximately 47% of Herbert's annual selections and over half of all books in 1723 when works in translation, such as polyglot bibles, are included. The sudden increase in language books accompanied Herbert's first ventures into paid, private language instruction. This began in August, 1722 with Herbert's arrangement for Low Dutch studies taught by "Mr. Vander-Eyken" and continued throughout 1723. Though the complete repertoire of languages contained in Herbert's library then encompassed several tongues, his growing proficiency in Dutch through these lessons is evident in the 1723 accounts. This same occurrence was again demonstrated as Herbert engaged in private study of other languages over the following decade. By December of 1723, though their respective quantities varied, Herbert possessed books in at least 14 languages, an enormous increase in comparison to the few grammars from previous years. This was the beginning of a trend that continued throughout the remainder of Herbert's record keeping.

Though the development of new patterns in Herbert's book expenditures is the immediate rationale for selecting 1723 as a case study, these events also occurred during meaningful stages in Herbert's professional and domestic life. By 1723, Herbert had held his position with the Pay Office for just over ten years. Though his annual pay commenced significantly lower (£72 in 1711), by 1722, Herbert was earning an average £233 annually.¹³ This level of income placed Herbert within the gentlemen's class, particularly when considering his maintenance expenses only comprised his own, that of a one-person household.¹⁴ Based on these estimates, by 1723, Herbert lived comfortably and, though he enjoyed promotions to his pay and position in subsequent years, he was well settled into his career. A far cry from earlier periods of laboring to find employment, times when Herbert made distressed remarks in his accounts such as "Non point de l'Argent" and "No Money,"¹⁵ by 1723 Herbert had the job security and finances to easily engage in pursuits like building his library and studying languages.

Despite his professional stability, Herbert spent much of this period moving his residence between various inns and lodgings around the London districts. The location and status of Herbert's library at this point are unknown. Though he does record expenses related to moving his possessions from place to place, Herbert makes no exact mention of whether he had any portion of his library transported during his recurrent moves or if all or part of the collection was kept elsewhere. This practice continued until January 1722, when Herbert settled in the chambers of "Mr. Shepard" on Chapel Street,

¹³ Kelch, 143-144.

¹⁴ Ibid., 144.

¹⁵ Ibid., 143.

providing no further details about the specific location of his new housing. Herbert remained in these chambers throughout his writing of the 1723 expense accounts and further until May 1725, when he purchased “Mr. Hadsley’s” chambers at Gray’s Inn for £120 and was entered as a member. Gray’s Inn remained Herbert’s permanent home for the rest of his life.

Though his living arrangements were heavily impermanent leading up to 1725, Herbert’s decade spent in London provided him a well-developed system of friends, work colleagues, and acquaintances. This is demonstrated in Herbert’s accounts by the proliferation of expenses and remarks related to various individuals and Herbert’s continual noting of birthdays, christenings, weddings, funerals, and personal dealings. Through Herbert’s close friendships with Pay Office associates and their families, interactions with residents at Mr. Shepard’s, and relationships built through involvement with the lottery commission, in 1723 Herbert was immersed in an expansive network of social exchange well beyond that of his initial entry to London society 13 years prior.

Like the proximate trends in his book collecting, Herbert’s 1723 professional and private life was in a transitional stage, both shifting and settled. In one sense, Herbert was a firmly established London man with over ten years’ experience in his job, connected to London society through familiar interactions, and displaying all indications of an individual well-accustomed in his surroundings. At the same time, Herbert had not reached the height of his career and was still a full year away from permanent settlement in his long-term residence. In the midst of his methodically conceived accounts, Herbert still found room to entertain his fancies – recollecting dreams, excitedly noting

interactions with his love interest, doodling in the margins. Established he may be, the silhouette of a younger man resurfaces intermittently across the 1723 accounts. These subtle images overlap Herbert's professional age, his slowing residential unrest, and his familiar social life to depict an evolving man, steadying but not quite fully at rest, enmeshed in the final stages of coming into his middle-aged self. Books became a major centerpiece in this identity, and as his literary purchases increased exponentially in the preceding years, 1723 marked the stabilization of Herbert's new, inexhaustible collecting that would continue for years to come. The 1723 accounts allow us to examine a man at this emergent stage in both collecting and personal evolution.

Documenting the 1723 Expenses

The cataloguing process began with transcribing Herbert's accounts and memoranda. Each line of Herbert's 1723 notes has been reconstructed in the same order and form in which they were originally recorded. This allows the expense dates, grouping of entries, and any surfacing patterns to be taken into consideration. All of Herbert's non-literary expenditures have been included in the transcription process as well. These range from Herbert's unnamed daily operating expenses, to specified goods, monetary transactions, and personal notes. Although these items do not figure as prominently in the analysis as do Herbert's books, a section on relevant non-print expenses is included in the study. Likewise, though not all book titles are discussed in name in the analysis, all have been transcribed and catalogued and represent the larger body of material necessary for examining Herbert's collecting. The efficacy and

comprehensive goals of the study in considering the total of Herbert's 1723 expenses necessitate the application of this process to each entry in the accounts. In contrast to considering only partial elements of Herbert's records, by recreating the accounts as a whole and in the order in which he recorded them, the fuller sense of Herbert's behavior in 1723 becomes accessible.

Following their transcription, Herbert's 1723 book expenses have been identified for their corresponding titles by comparison with entries in the British Library English Short Title Catalogue,¹⁶ the Universal Short Title Catalogue hosted by the University of St. Andrews,¹⁷ and international library collections accessible through the Online Computer Library Center WorldCat.¹⁸ The works themselves have been further explored via their digital copies hosted by Eighteenth Century Collections Online,¹⁹ Early English Books Online,²⁰ Google Books,²¹ and the Internet Archive.²² Additionally, in researching the biographical information of Herbert's authors, both the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography²³ and, in the case of ancient authors, Brill's

¹⁶ The British Library, English Short Title Catalog, Last modified March, 2015, accessed March, 2015, http://estc.bl.uk/F/?func=file&file_name=login-bl-estc/.

¹⁷ University of St. Andrews, Universal Short Title Catalog, last modified March, 2015, accessed March, 2015, <http://www.ustc.ac.uk/>.

¹⁸ OCLC Online Computer Library Center, Inc., WorldCat, last modified March, 2015, accessed March 2015, <http://www.worldcat.org/>.

¹⁹ Gale, Cengage Learning, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, last modified March, 2015, accessed March 2015, <http://gdc.gale.com/products/eighteenth-century-collections-online/>.

²⁰ ProQuest LLC, Early English Books Online, last modified March, 2015, accessed March 2015, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home/>.

²¹ Google, Google Books, last modified March, 2015, accessed March 2015, <https://books.google.com/>.

²² Internet Archive, The Internet Archive, last modified March, 2015, accessed March 2015, <https://archive.org/>.

²³ Oxford University Press, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, last modified March, 2015, accessed March 2015, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.lib-ezproxy.tamu.edu:2048/search/>.

New Pauly²⁴ have been indispensable as general information sources. In most cases, Herbert's book expense notes are easily connected to documented works contained within these various databases, providing us with additional insight into their variant titles, authors, and editorial history.

Despite the insight these databases provide, the process of reconstructing Herbert's library is not perfect. Though Herbert's expense records are notably thorough, they were written as personal notes, and occasionally lack necessary details for determining precise titles. This occurs in cases of overly general book descriptions, such as "[January] 24 ... Italn. Grammar 8°. – [£]0.2.0." Though the book's purchase date, content, size, and price may provide some clues in narrowing possibilities, it is often not enough to confidently identify the title. Fortunately, this is by no means the norm. Herbert is almost always scrupulous enough in his record keeping to provide an ample source for pinpointing the titles. Even in cases where Herbert's notes do not allow for a successful identification, the record is almost always self-evident in describing the book's general purpose and content, as is the case with Herbert's octavo Italian grammar above. The availability of recognizable titles provides the study with more than enough material for an effective analysis.

In addition to the sources mentioned above, this study employs extensive use of the library auction catalog printed prior to the sale of Herbert's collection in 1771.²⁵ Following his death in 1669, Herbert's niece and heir moved quickly to dispense with

²⁴ Koninklijke Brill NV, Brill's New Pauly, last modified March, 2015, accessed March 2015, <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-pauly/>.

²⁵ *A Catalogue Of The Very Curious And Valuable Library Of The Late Learned Edmund Herbert, Esq.* (London : Lockyer Davis, 1771).

the library via an auction that took place between May 1771 and January 1772. The resultant 230-page catalog contains many entries that are easily recognized as Herbert's 1723 purchases. The catalogue is divided between three sections according to size – folio, quarto, and octavo – and further itemized topically, with categories such as 'Bibles and Commentaries,' 'Libri Philologicli,' and 'Classici, Poetæ, Oratores, &c.' Unindexed sections at the end of the catalogue detail smaller books and pamphlets. Book entries contain variants of each work's short title, the edition date, the number of volumes, the auction price, and intermittent notes on the book's site of publication, physical description, and condition.

Without Herbert's library intact, the auction catalogue represents the only surviving reference for verifying Herbert's 1723 book purchases. Because of this, I have assigned some form of priority to the auction catalogue in identifying the titles, using it as a primary point of comparison to Herbert's expense notes, accompanied by isolating the work in the online databases. In attempting to classify a book by its precise publication, where Herbert's book expenses match auction entries, the editions listed in the auction catalogue are presumed to be the literal copies referenced in Herbert's accounts. Whether or not this is the exact case for each entry, inferring Herbert's purchases through this method represents a best possible estimate in determining specific editions and, even in the case of error, does not deter identification of the uniform work itself.

The continued phrasing of the auction catalog's full title, *To Which are Added, Several Other Libraries and Parcels of Books*, signifies the most immediate limitation of

the auction book in documenting Herbert's collection. At 8,795 total entries and comprising over twenty-thousand volumes, the immense number of works is not easily explored. Even more problematic, the presence of collections external to Herbert's library limits assurance in the precision of connecting Herbert's expense notes with auction catalog entries. This is immediately apparent in the appendix, where only a minority of roughly 42% of Herbert's book expenses can be located in the auction book. Though by the end of his life, Herbert's books certainly numbered well into the thousands, it is highly unlikely his collection approached the number denoted by the catalog. Contrary to these limitations, though Herbert frequently purchased popular and widely published books, duplicate entries for books referenced in the 1723 accounts are rare. Where expense notes are linkable to auction entries, the range of their possible identifications are narrowed due to the added elements of the catalog. The benefits of incorporating the auction book into the study undoubtedly compensate for any drawbacks it presents as a primary source.

Notes on the Appendix

The appendix catalogues Herbert's 1723 book expenses based on eleven criteria: the book's official title, the primary author, any secondary authors or editors, the publication date, the book size, a citation number from one of the online databases, the auction catalog entry number, Herbert's original notation, the date purchased, the cost noted in Herbert's account, and the conversion of this total cost into gross currency. The appendix is sorted alphabetically according to the primary author. Publication dates,

book sizes, citation numbers, and auction numbers flagged with an asterisk indicate some form of discrepancy or variability relevant to selecting a specific identification and will be explained in detail below.

The official titles recorded in the appendix reflect their exact entries in the online databases, condensed to the first phrase in cases of particularly long titles. In instances where an appropriate uniform title is provided, especially in longstanding series with multiple title variants, the uniform has been chosen instead. Titles recorded in non-Latin characters are documented in their original lettering, though these include a phonetic title as well when noted as such in the databases. In reconstructing the book titles, special consideration is given to Herbert's wording in the expense ledgers. Herbert's order of terms, choice of abbreviations, and use of English or non-English titling are given priority in locating the specific book and edition Herbert purchased. Furthermore, Herbert is almost fully consistent throughout 1723 in noting the size of his book purchases, and this factor is used throughout the appendix as a helpful element in identifying Herbert's editions. The primary author of each work is based on the initial creator as indicated in the online databases. Because of this, even in cases where Herbert's notes credit a translator only, the original author is listed as the primary. The category for secondary authors incorporates any available editors, translators, and other contributing authors. Because of the complexity of multiple editions and translations, and bearing in mind the variability of information documented in the databases, some contributors may be missing from appendix entries. Their authorship is recorded based entirely on material from the short title and library systems and all considerations are

made to fully document all contributing authors, though the uncertainty of Herbert's specific editions often limits this.

Logging the publication dates was completed following a consistent process. For expenses that possess corresponding entries in the auction catalog whose dates are consistent with Herbert's time of purchase, publication dates are recorded as those found in the auction book. Expense notes lacking auction entries are listed with publication dates according to the earliest possible edition Herbert might have acquired, printed in the appropriate size according to his notes, also keeping in mind the form and language of Herbert's notation as narrowing factors. Books documented in this fashion for which the exact publication date cannot be determined are flagged, indicating other dates of printing exist in the databases and that the recorded date represents the earliest printing. As mentioned, Herbert was careful to note the size of his books in the expense records, doing so for nearly all entries throughout the year. As such, book sizing information is always reflective of Herbert's notes. The few book sizes that are flagged signify either the limited cases in which Herbert did not provide book sizing, and in which multiple sizes are available in the databases, or where Herbert's sizing notes do not match any of the entries documented online. Though it is possible in these instances that Herbert made an error in his record keeping, it seems more likely that these are due to limitations in existing information in the databases.

The appendix citation number is a reference number from the English Short Title Catalogue, Universal Short Title Catalog, or WorldCat (beginning with a letter in the case of the ESTC, containing six digits in the case of the USTC, and containing eight

digits or more in the case of WorldCat citation numbers). Flagged numbers designate multiple database entries, as in the presence of multiple publication dates and editions. Entries in which the citation number has been flagged but the publication date has not suggest that though the date has been determined, multiple editions were printed in the same year, often for different publishers and sellers. Alongside the citation number, the auction catalog entry, where available, contains both the auction book page and entry number. Any auction numbers flagged are done so to indicate either that multiple entries for the same work are found in the auction book or that the publication date listed is later than 1723, in which case the auction number is still provided for reference. In the event of multiple auction entries of the same title, again, the entry most closely corresponding to Herbert's noted size and wording is recorded in the appendix.

Herbert's full, original notation is given in the subsequent column. Though lettering has been added in instances of scribal notations, these entries are kept as close to the verbatim transcription as possible. Additional notes contained in brackets designate information Herbert logged in the margin. This was done occasionally for the book size and number of volumes and, in one case, for a supplementary note about binding costs. The purchase date contains Herbert's recorded date of purchase that corresponds to each expense note. Dates marked with a brace denote Herbert parenthetically grouped them in the expense ledger with all other books listed under the same date. It is assumed that this was done to indicate a single exchange in acquiring the books. Though the appendix employs a left brace when noting this feature, this is not meant to designate that Herbert always used bracketing in the left margin to group

expenses. Herbert's bracketing took on different forms, all of which is discussed in the analysis.

Finally, Herbert's noted cost for each book expense is tabulated according to his own indication of pounds, shillings, and pence. These expenditures are compiled into a yearly total at the footer of the appendix. In addition, each expense has been converted into raw pennies in order to provide a standard numeric representation of monetary value for each book.

Herbert's named book expenses in 1723 total 125 altogether with 100 titles identified. The remaining 25 escape identification primarily because of inadequate or generic details in Herbert's notations. The few cases of these where Herbert's notes are more descriptive, the entries lack sufficient corresponding possibilities in the online databases and auction catalog. Searching for these titles in the auction catalog based entirely on their general subject and size suggests variance between Herbert's abbreviations and the auction short titles. Of the 25 unidentified books, the primary authors of five are still determined: Aesop and Terence are recognizable in two of these works, though the specific publications and editors remain unknown; César Vichard de Saint-Réal is a likely candidate for one books based on Herbert's notation and the work's presumed historical content; Desiderius Erasmus is the clear author of the other, though which specific grammar Herbert bought is uncertain; and Joachim Lütke mann is the recognizable author of the final missing title, though Herbert does not indicate which of Lütke mann's numerous hymnals he purchased.

CHAPTER III

BOOKS IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY LONDON

Upon his arrival in London, Herbert set foot onto a stage of international book trade – economically complex, deeply entwined with London society, and heavily structured by the time he sought employment. Though the first years of Herbert’s records indicate he already possessed a modest collection of books when he resettled in London, the purpose and meaning of Herbert’s library changed significantly with his joining of London’s urban markets and culture. Had he remained in Northamptonshire throughout his life, the development of Herbert’s zeal for books, his collecting habits, and the makeup of his library would likely have been significantly different. Though the inner workings of Herbert’s motivation should not be denied their own independent role in the formation of his literary character, the evolution of Herbert’s identity cannot be discussed without including the dynamic London environment by which it was so clearly affected.

The London Book Trade

Closely accompanying the demographic and economic expansion of London, the growth of the London book trade was distinguished by increased diversity and production in both selling and publishing.²⁶ Though bookshops may have been scattered

²⁶ James Raven, “London and the Central Sites of the English Book Trade,” in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume V*, ed. Michael F. Suarez SJ and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 293.

across the general city, concentrated groups of vendors had emerged by the end of the seventeenth century. These included a vein of selling and publishing trades running from St. Paul's to London Bridge along with merchants at traditional commercial sites such as Fleet Street.²⁷ By the beginning of the eighteenth century, some districts purportedly showed signs of established subject and genre gathering. A volume of Macky's 1714 guidebook denoted groupings such as "booksellers of ancient books in all languages," "law, history, and plays," and "divinity and classics," each within respective locations.²⁸ The diversity of topics was matched also by increased diversity of media, and came to include all manner of newspapers, periodicals, magazines, pamphlets, playbooks, novels, and printed speeches, with reduced prices in popular materials through mass production.²⁹ Increased variety of media also called for more common use of non-Roman typography. Certainly an important development for students of Semitic languages, the polyglot types were acquired by many of the London foundries in the years leading up to 1700, with each supplementing them in various ways, the end result being more standardized Arabic and Hebrew types and increased printing capabilities among British presses.³⁰

This same expansion was also realized on the stage of the international book trade, with Britain becoming a net exporter of books by the end of the 1740s and nearly every major publisher engaged in sales with foreign customers, a reverse to all previous

²⁷ Raven, 294.

²⁸ Ibid., 295.

²⁹ James Raven, "The Book as a Commodity," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume V*, ed. Michael F. Suarez SJ and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 86.

³⁰ Geoffrey Roper, "Arabic Printing and Publishing in England before 1820," *Bulletin (British Society for Middle Eastern Studies)* 12, no. 1 (1985): 20-21.

trends of high British dependency on imported paper and books.³¹ Demand and production methods aside, much of this increase was the result of better distribution networks and organizational restructuring.³² Additionally, banking and insurance would both come to play major roles in reducing risk to production and shipping capital, ultimately lowering transaction costs to much lower levels than those absorbed during earlier periods of less developed financial flexibility.³³ Naturally, greater contact with the foreign market resulted in increased concerns for intellectual property issues and piracy and in greater competition with foreign traders. This is reflected, for example, in cases throughout the early 1730s of various authors petitioning for bans on imports of foreign book editions, in particular against those originating in the Dutch markets.³⁴

The technical considerations for increased book production are uncomplicated enough, but what can account for the revolution of expanded consumer demand? Britain's growth into a "nation of books," books covering virtually every topic imaginable in the eighteenth century and distributed among previously untouched ends of society, rests equally on the shoulders of readers and publishers alike.³⁵ The growing demand for books and open availability among those who, in the recent past, did not have access to the same number of print materials progressed alongside the replacement

³¹ Roper, 92-93.

³² Ibid., 93.

³³ Ibid., 94.

³⁴ P.G. Hoftijzer and O.S. Lankhorst, "Continental Imports to Britain, 1695-1740," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume V*, ed. Michael F. Suarez SJ and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 513.

³⁵ Margaret R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 178.

of “treen” plates with pewter dishes and of wooden spoons with tin utensils.³⁶ As middling consumers furnished their homes with silks and tapestries and grew to appreciate porcelain and carpets, so they too furnished their lives with books. Books themselves, their content aside, were to become luxury objects in this emerging, pre-industrial culture of taste. Books and other print materials thus became “prominent exemplars of the new decencies and conveniences gracing the homes of the middling sort.”³⁷ Naturally, urban British had the most extensive access to these goods, with books flowing through trade networks that converged on London.³⁸

What trends emerged among book collectors leading up to the eighteenth century? According to David Pearson, numbers in these collections frequently reached several hundred or even several thousand among collectors.³⁹ Even among average earners, a handful of popular works in a single household was commonplace. Spread amongst all owners, titles included biblical texts and commentaries, modern theology, history and classics, geography, travel, natural philosophy, law, and a variety of multilingual texts.⁴⁰ Considerations made by consumers when selecting among these books involved a desire for participation in the public sphere of ideas.⁴¹ In short, as consumer culture continued to develop in eighteenth century Britain, books followed the same pattern as other luxury items, with users purchasing them as objects of demand.

³⁶David J. Baker, *On Demand: Writing for the Market in Early Modern England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 1.

³⁷Raven, “Commodity,” 89.

³⁸Baker, 7.

³⁹David Pearson. “Patterns of Book Ownership in Late Seventeenth-Century England.” *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 11, no. 2 (June 2010): 139.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Edward H. Jacobs, “Buying into Classes: The Practice of Book Selection in Eighteenth Century Britain,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33, no. 1 (Fall 1999): 45-46.

This is not to say that buyers of books sought them entirely for their non-literary purposes, but that books quickly became eligible products for consumption as their availability increased.

Observing the printing and purchasing trends recommends a closer look at multi-lingual religious literature as one of the largest types of printed and owned material in early modern Britain. Throughout the eighteenth century, various religious books represented the largest portion of publishing, the segment of “practical” religious works in turn making up the largest subgroup.⁴² Like other books, multi-lingual religious print was published with awareness of specific audiences, the most expensive being commentaries and collections marketed for the clergy, gentry, and various scholars.⁴³ An equally significant consideration, print was affected strongly by denominational factors, with some groups, such as Unitarians, facing legal barriers and others influenced by ongoing theological debates in their publication choices.⁴⁴ By far, the largest sets of materials were produced for the Church of England with publishing for dissenting groups relegated to smaller booksellers and markets.⁴⁵ A glance at Herbert’s library prior to 1723 is filled with many similar works, in particular those that overlap segments of the holy and the philological.

⁴² Isabel Rivers, “Religious Publishing,” in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Volume V, ed. Michael F. Suarez SJ and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 579.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 580.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 580-581.

The Book Collector

Pushing the boundaries of literacy, the number of individuals engaged in the private use of texts increased throughout early modern Britain unlike any prior era.⁴⁶ Even those whose literary access was heavily limited by barriers of class, economics, and education were regularly exposed to the growing print culture, often through increased proliferation of liturgy and the Book of Common Prayer.⁴⁷ This experience was markedly accelerated for members of the privileged classes, and interaction with books varied significantly throughout the London strata. Particularly among the gentry, book purchasing and readership diverged with even more variance on the basis of wealth, formalized education, gender, and religious inclination.⁴⁸ The privileged financial means of the upper classes critically introduced the elements of taste and leisure to further expand the reception of books into the realm of consumer choice. Because of this, though the book purchasing members of the gentry can be recognized, their behavior and book selections were often the most diverse of all London buyers.⁴⁹ Bearing these qualifications in mind, in studying the private practices of individuals, one cannot avoid notice of the excess of mass collecting among London gentlemen. The diversity of book selection aside, the “bibliomania” among the gentry assumed great commonality between various collectors and quickly came to provide the single most characterizing feature of many literary men.

⁴⁶ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) 24.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 31.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

Towards the end of his life, Palgrave attorney and book collector Tom Martin, whose family faced financial difficulty because of his ardent book purchasing, was forced to host London bookseller Thomas Payne in an urgent bid to sell whatever books Payne would accept. John Fenn describes the event in which Martin refused to interact with Payne while the bookseller browsed Martin's collection, Martin going so far as to sneak into his library while the household slept in order to hide his most treasured books. After Martin's death, several volumes were found hidden throughout various places in the house.⁵⁰ Though Martin's case may be outstanding in the spectrum of book collectors' behaviors, it represents an inflated example of the obsessive elements that influenced many upper class buyers.

Perhaps the best way to provide a picture of the eighteenth century London book collector is through individual accounts like Martin's. Like Herbert, Martin first demonstrated a vivid interest in books as a young man, but his large-scale collecting began as a distinct trend following changes in his domestic life and financial resources. In 1722, Martin married a wealthy widow and subsequently moved to Palgrave, marking the beginning of his copious book purchasing.⁵¹ Following his own experiences, Martin went on to recognition for his abilities in the organization and documenting of large book collections, and he engaged in a form of side business reorganizing private collections.⁵²

⁵⁰ David Stoker, "The Ill-Gotten Library of 'Honest Tom' Martin," in *Property of a Gentleman*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: Oak Knoll Press, 1991), 104.

⁵¹ Ibid., 95.

⁵² Ibid.

Like most collectors, the acquisition of Martin's titles made up a significant part of his personal expenses. In a letter to a friend years later, Martin conveyed his personal dilemma between the financial constraints of supporting a large family on a modest income and the need to accrue additional books for his collection. Costs included, the makeup of Martin's library seems representative of many private libraries. It contained a variety of common antiquities, poetic works, sporting books, scriptures, and natural science, though with a notable emphasis on British history.⁵³ This feature seems to also typify private collections in that many contained a bulk of conventional works, those found on the shelves of all respectable gentlemen, but simultaneously encompassing many works of a specialized theme based on the unique interests of the collector. Even in the midst of his large arrangement of history in English tongue, Martin's collection contained a considerable number of books in French, Spanish, Italian, Latin, Greek, Saxon, Arabic, and Hebrew.⁵⁴

Martin's circumstances are somewhat tragic in comparison to most accounts of gentleman book collectors. Despite what should have been sufficient assets through his inheritance, those brought through marriage, and his reasonable income, Martin lived well outside of his means through his book purchases.⁵⁵ Following his death, Martin's widow quickly sold off his collection to account for his outstanding debts.⁵⁶ The value in Martin's case is that it provides a glimpse into both the individual and social importance collectors attached to their libraries. Martin's personal curiosity in exploring

⁵³ Stoker, 98-100.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 98.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 102.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 105.

his chosen academic subjects intersected with his desire for social esteem.⁵⁷ Martin took pride in the constant availability of his library to those interested in historical research and his talents for organizing libraries. Though much of his motivation may have been for the regard of others and the symbol his library represented, these considerations were overlapped by a genuine interest in the topics of Martin's books and the capable resources they offered others, including a fair number of well-known authors.⁵⁸

William Herbert, no relation to Edmund Herbert, offers another common picture of a book collector. William Herbert's collecting also commenced with his financial stability, in his case as he rose through the ranks of his position with the Drapers' Company in London.⁵⁹ This afforded him the ability to enjoy the life of a "gentleman scholar," spending his life all the way through semi-retirement in the exchange and collecting of books. William Herbert remained well connected to the book trade through his own collecting and contacts granted to him through previous employment with the East India Company.⁶⁰ Contemporaries described William Herbert as a staunch Presbyterian. William Herbert's interest in theological topics is strongly reflected in his library and served as a major incentive to acquire works within a wide assortment of divinity and apologetic topics. He was an enthusiastic collector of bibles in modern and ancient languages, whose intentions shared space between "piety and bibliophily."⁶¹

The purchase of *Typographical Antiquities*, one of the earliest histories of English print, was perhaps even more influential. It denoted the beginning of William

⁵⁷ Stoker, 102.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 101.

⁵⁹ Myers, 135.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 135-136.

⁶¹ Ibid., 143.

Herbert's lifelong attempts to revise the work, an activity that became affixed to his book collecting.⁶² The range of William Herbert's library contained a large quantity of voyage and maritime travel books which William Herbert added alongside those "as other gentlemen did, with law the classics in the original and in translation, French and Italian books, dictionaries and grammars, 'antiquities' and histories," and a great number in science and literature.⁶³ William Herbert's fascination with travel and his previous experiences in India may have spurred his study of languages, which is revealed in his collection by grammars in Spanish, Greek, Latin, Welsh, and Bengali.⁶⁴

William Herbert continued to develop his library together with interests in typography and travel throughout his life, frequenting London auctions and utilizing his connections to London booksellers and printers. His depiction is one of an astute, driven, and highly organized individual whose scholarly diligence and fascination with the world mirrored the makeup of his book selections. As somewhat of a counterpoint to Tom Martin, William Herbert kept his literary passions in check relative to his finances. However, when compared, both represent differing responses and outcomes to the same cultural phenomenon. Dissimilar as their lives may seem, both navigated the multilayered structure of the 'property of a gentlemen,' reacting to established norms and expectations. Like modern scholars in the earlier centuries, these new readers

⁶² Myers, 137.

⁶³ Ibid., 142.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 143.

sought both pleasure and the gentlemanly learning, synchronously consulting the bible, the ancient world, and knowledge accessed through foreign language.⁶⁵

Following the resurgence of mass collection in the early nineteenth century, a new generation of “bibliomaniacs” were likened to their eighteenth-century counterparts, the latter remembered unfairly for an insincere show of high culture via their enormous book collections. This behavior was seen as an expression of pure privatized consumption, lacking in academic purpose and assessing books only on their aesthetic merits.⁶⁶ The gentleman’s library was cynically understood to be a disparate mess of unrelated content, selected for shelf value in the chambers of the socially involved.⁶⁷ This is quite clearly a one-sided critique. Though the popular elements of collecting and the vogue of eighteenth century print culture certainly shared a sizeable portion of the stage, the highly personal character of learning and self-advancement boldly stand out when libraries and their owners are examined on an individual basis. The obsessive cataloguing of books may have occupied a social space well beyond matters of literary content, and collectors may have purposefully mimicked seventeenth century scholars when engaging in polylingual study, but to position book collecting entirely within the ostentatious is to deny the enormous complexity of the practice in the same oversimplified manner as classifying it as a purely academic experience. The factors described above, the qualities of the archetypical eighteenth century collector, and the

⁶⁵ Joad Raymond, “Irrational, Impractical, and Unprofitable: Reading the News in Seventeenth-Century Britain,” in *Reading, Society, and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 185.

⁶⁶ Philip Connell, “Bibliomania: Book Collecting, Cultural Politics, and the Rise of Literary Heritage in Romantic Britain,” *Representations*, No. 71 (Summer, 2000): 27.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

convening of social and private forces within the library are easily discernable within Herbert's accounts as well.

CHAPTER IV

HERBERT'S 1723 ACCOUNTS

By 1723, Herbert had normalized his bookkeeping to a style and method that characterized his accounts for the majority of his life. A quick comparative glimpse at Herbert's 1708 and 1723 records underscores this progression in accounting style. Although the aim of exact procedure may not have changed drastically over the years, there are visible differences between the documents. As a younger man, Herbert began his accounting with a fastidiously careful hand. The careful style of Herbert's hand in 1708 is discernible in each expense and affirms the accounts' role as fair copy. 15 years later, Herbert's looping handwriting had given way to years of constant, meticulous bookkeeping and taken on a much more utilitarian quality of writing. This difference is highly relative within the accounts themselves, however, and the enduring clarity and thoroughness of Herbert's 1723 records depicts a process that, though still faithfully kept and close to Herbert's heart, had come to rest as a routine part of daily life. Routine as his accounting may have been, this did not dissuade Herbert from fervently maintaining this persistent report of his life.

If one practice outdoes Herbert's general accounting, it's his accounting of book expenses. As detailed as his daily records are, Herbert's books occupy a distinguished place on the ledgers and, I would argue, provide a fair amount of Herbert's motivation to keep such detailed accounts to begin with. Though eighteenth century men, whether they collected books or not, often employed some degree of similar methods in

authenticating their affairs,⁶⁸ the merging of Herbert's conscientiousness in tracking his dealings and his passion for books gave him the energy to maintain this practice for over 60 years. In this chapter I will further examine the characteristics of Herbert's record keeping, explore the nature and content of Herbert's 1723 books, and discuss the significance of both in identifying Herbert through three categorizations of his transcribed accounts.

Practice and Domesticity

In Karen Harvey's brief discussion of Herbert in her book, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Harvey emphasizes the influence of Herbert's administrative career on his private accounting. Upon his appointment to Deputy Paymaster in later years, Herbert was handed a set of instructions for serving in his new role which included writing up general rules for the guidance of the Paymaster.⁶⁹ Given his duties not only in accounting but in delineating standard practices, it is unsurprising that Herbert employed the same methods in his personal finances. Going even further than that, as his accounts demonstrate, Herbert applied the same ordering to documenting his social life as well. Harvey attributes this tendency in Herbert's financial and social practices as the "direct result of integration into the bureaucratic processes of government."⁷⁰ I agree with Harvey, that Herbert's accounts bear the markings of a career bookkeeper in terms of their thoroughness and consistent

⁶⁸ Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 95-96.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 95.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 97.

revision. However, as Harvey will go on to explain, Herbert's motivations for doing so also stemmed from a personal need to introduce order not only to his finances but his personal experiences as well. Herbert's need to engage in this behavior is as much an internal demand as one influenced by the routines of his career. By examining the features and peculiarities Herbert's record keeping, one can better understand not only Herbert's accounting practice but his underlying motives.

In addition to her assessment of Herbert's purposes in keeping his expense accounts, Harvey provides an excellent portrayal of Herbert's methods. When paired with a close inspection of the materials, from aspects of Herbert's handwriting to his grouping of certain expenses, the opportunity arises to recreate the full process of Herbert's buying and bookkeeping. Herbert almost certainly kept a daily routine of account maintenance. Each day, he would have carried home individual transaction documents – receipts, bills, invoices, and the like – and used these to build the expense notes examined in this study.⁷¹ Annually, these accounts were then copied into sections of a larger volume based on categorization. Harvey provides a few of these as examples, including “‘Books & pamphlets,’ ‘necessary expenses,’ ‘expenses in generosity,’ ‘expenses in cloathes,’ ‘gained [at gambling],’ ‘lost [at gambling]’” and so forth.⁷² Within this larger volume, Herbert even transferred his memoranda, thus creating a single point for recording the full spectrum of his affairs. Though later in life, Herbert gave up on such strict itemization in the master account book, in 1723, Herbert's methodical procedures were still in place. Based on other contents in the accounts, such

⁷¹ Harvey, 95.

⁷² Ibid., 96.

as tick marks through many expenses in the master volume and the presence of additional accounting documents used later in life, it is likely that there were even more steps to Herbert's documentation and revision process and that, without the survival of all materials, our picture of Herbert's methods is representative but at least partially incomplete.⁷³ Regardless, the existing accounts are sufficient to recreate much of Herbert's process and, more importantly for this study, to extract the meanings behind their inception and content.

This treatment may accurately describe Herbert's overarching practice of account maintenance, but what can be said of the daily process that is documented on the expense sheets? Even more pertinent, what do the material aspects of this process suggest about Herbert's activities? An image emerges of Herbert at his desk in the afternoon or evening, sorting through a handful of bills and receipts from the previous day and carefully marking them in the month's expense ledger. Herbert recorded his expenses chronologically in this way, marking the date in the left margin and abbreviating each of the day's expenses in a columnar sequence, indenting, and then noting their cost on the right hand of the sheet. Though he was thorough in documenting each day's total expenses down to the penny, Herbert was selective in which expenses to name in full. Herbert recorded a day's common expenses as simply 'Exp.', and in cases of subsequent dates also of common expenses, he simply marked 'D^o.', or 'Ditto.' This convention results in several cases in which a series of days are represented entirely by 'Exp.' and a trailing column of dittos. For example, beginning on February 7, Herbert

⁷³ Harvey, 96.

did not record any specified expenses until five days later when he noted giving money to an associate, writing in full ‘Gave Ned Snowden – £1.1.6.’ In other examples of long, generic expense sequences, such as those in June, Herbert’s ink visibly fades down the ledger with each ‘D^o.’ This goes even further to suggest that on some days in which he had no notable expenses to record, Herbert did not follow a daily schedule of updating the accounts. Instead, Herbert filled in the succession of general costs only when a named expenditure was to be added at its conclusion. Although this practice denies us the ability to know more about the makeup of the regular expenses Herbert tabulated each day, it provides insight into which expenses Herbert deemed worthy to name in the ledger.

In most cases, this worthiness was based on factors such as an entry’s exceptionality, scheduled recurrence, or expenses related to certain events and personal interactions. To provide a few examples of these, Herbert always made note of arranged services such as shoe mending and laundering, and of course, always included his lodging rent and horse boarding fees in the accounts. To provide a sense of the variety of the items Herbert chose to name in the accounts, among the goods he itemized throughout 1723, Herbert included ink urns and pencils, key rings, olives, beef tongue, tobacco, stockings, buckles for his neck cloth, hand tools, a ‘Bullet Gun,’ several bottles of wine, and various gifts for friends. Whenever he made a purchase intended as a gift, Herbert was not only sure to record its status, he included the recipient in the expense note as well. Equally so, Herbert took every opportunity to document his interactions with friends and colleagues in the accounts through the abundant number recorded

payments to servants. In these ways, Herbert's expense accounts were, in actuality, both financial and social in nature. Often these interactions in the expense ledgers were tied to personal notes in the memoranda, such as travel dates made with an associate from the Pay Office. Though the memoranda contain a great deal of Herbert's business transactions, the memos served more as a section of personal reminders, as evidenced by their content and scratched jottings.

The single category of expense items that Herbert always noted in full were his books. In recording his book purchases, Herbert's methods were uniform: he wrote down an abbreviated form of the book's short title, in many cases including some form of the primary author's name, and beside this, in all but a handful of examples from 1723, the book's size. In contrast to all other expenses in the accounts, Herbert also incorporated a fair number of supplementary markings when recording his books. Occasionally, these involved information about the book itself, such as February notes indicating that two of Herbert's grammar purchases that month were in use at Westminster School. In one 1723 instance, an annotation was added next to a book that had been bound following its purchase. In the same form, Herbert was always careful in highlighting books he had specifically purchased for others, similar to his usual methods for recording gifts.

More often than these cases, however, Herbert's additional book notes were indicators of group purchases. Herbert recorded one such example on March 27 with the acquisition of four grammars, a Joachim Lütke mann hymnal, and a vigesimo-quarto of Ausonius' collected works. Herbert grouped all of these within a brace in the right

margin and a note for their total cost, £0.3.0. Within this same bracketing, all but ‘Ansonii Opera 24°.’ were grouped again with a sizing indication, 8° to 12°. In the left margin, Herbert added yet another brace with the note that he had purchased the lot at 6 pence per book. Below this parcel in the ledger but still within the same date, Herbert recorded another book purchase, ‘Des Racine Greques 8°.’, designating that though this book was bought on the same day, it was not acquired as part of the larger group. This example points to an important conclusion drawn from the recording methods of Herbert’s book purchases, namely that Herbert frequently acquired books in bulk groupings. The majority of Herbert’s 1723 book expenditures are not sorted this way, meaning that they were purchased through individual transactions, even if bought on the same date with other titles. But the eight occurrences of bracketed parcels throughout the year, accounting for 46 books altogether and as many as 11 books in a single purchase, represent a significant pattern in Herbert’s purchasing habits. Adding to this suggestion, many of the books Herbert acquired in this fashion share common themes. In September, for example, Herbert’s mass purchase was made up almost entirely of Dutch works and bibles, two of the bibles themselves containing Dutch translations. In other instances, grouped books shared a common size, as was the case on May 13.

We can only speculate about the character of these transactions. It is likely these purchases were simply a matter of arrangement between Herbert and the bookseller or that they were parceled for sale as a single group. Perhaps Herbert purchased these parcels in auctions, though it seems that he would have made some indication of it in the accounts had that been the case. Regardless of the precise exchange, the significance

lies in Herbert's engagement in forms of book collecting that ranged from occasional purchases of single volumes to buying several works en masse within a single day.

There does not appear to be any trend in the timing of Herbert's monthly book buying, suggesting that collecting books was a constant and regular part of his activities, rather than being scheduled based on the timing of Herbert's pay, for example. The outcome of this behavior was the total addition of 125 books to Herbert's collection by the end of 1723, not including pamphlets and single-leaf literature. By the year's end, Herbert's book expenses accounted for nearly 10% of annual expenditures. Herbert's most prolific collecting took place in April with the purchase of 22 books. Herbert's least active month was October, in which Herbert did not record a single book purchase.

Outlying periods such as October aside, the profusion and relative consistency of book collecting over the year demonstrates the full maturation of Herbert's "bibliomania" by 1723. This is especially reinforced when considering Herbert's attentiveness not just to the books themselves, but to their documentation in the expense accounts. Although this would seem expected given Herbert's thorough approach to all his financial affairs, the degree of classification and detail provided with each title and the narrative of acquisition offered by the books' groupings emphasize the unique significance Hebert attached to his books. Contrasting with Herbert's customary notation of 'Exp.' and 'D°.' throughout the ledger, Herbert used his expense accounts as a medium to catalogue his library. In the same way Herbert's expense accounts completely exceeded their financial scope and were intimately tied to Herbert's social activities, so too was Herbert's bookkeeping in expressing a taxonomic mastery over his

collection. For other gentlemen, such as William Herbert, whether through the production of a catalogue or through shelf arrangement, book tracking occupied the realm of domestic arrangement.⁷⁴ This too was the case for Edmund who, at the same moment of tabulating his finances and books was “imposing regularity and order on his personal experiences.”⁷⁵

Non-lingual Books

A glance through the appendix reveals the large extent to which Herbert’s 1723 collection was made up of grammars and related lingual works. Like Tom Martin’s obsession with British history and William Herbert’s passion for travel literature, the character of Edmund’s library was personalized by his love for languages. But also like those of other gentlemen, Herbert’s collection contained a balance of various works that marked it as the possession a learned man. Although R. Campbell was describing the prerequisites for those interested in entering the retail book trade, Campbell’s incitement to gaining a comprehensive authority of literary knowledge is equally applicable to the consumers who also sought to demonstrate their familiarity with academic subjects.

Speaking of any man who desired to truly know the world of print, Campbell proclaimed:

His Education ought the be as liberal as if he was designed for any of the learned Sciences; and his Knowledge of Men and Things as extensive as either the Divine, Lawyer, or Physician.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Myers, 148.

⁷⁵ Harvey, 96.

⁷⁶ R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (1747). Quoted in “Introduction,” by Michael Harris and Robin Myers in *A Genius for Letters*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: Oak Knoll Press, 1995), ix.

As evidenced by the diversity of his book purchases, Herbert was well attuned to this notion, whether consciously or not, and actively participated in the gentlemanly endeavor of demonstrating a broad knowledge of scholarly topics. Disregarding his extensive collection of grammars and theology, Herbert's 1723 purchases alone comprise topics in land ownership and husbandry, leisure, literature and poetry, equine science, ancient and modern history, medicine, geography, plant taxonomy, mathematics, law, economics and trade, and natural philosophy. Presenting these works as "non-lingual" is problematic in that many of them were written in translation and contained a variety of tongues. Undoubtedly, Herbert indirectly entertained his interest in language through many books whose primary purpose was not language instruction. However, his intention with these works was sharing in the academic pursuits of the literary world and thus becoming literary himself. Any treatment of Herbert's collection must fully contemplate these books and other material peripherals both for understanding Herbert's interest in them and for their role in connecting him with the inclinations of eighteenth century print culture.

The significant literary components of Herbert's 1723 expenses did not begin with books. In January, Herbert's largest single item expenses were for a small mahogany table, a walnut writing table, and a decorated wainscot bookcase, all of which he purchased second-hand at St. Paul's Churchyard. In the same way Herbert was constructing a gentleman's library through his book selections, he was also forming a gentleman's space through purchases like these. Though the pieces of furniture were obviously bought with practicality in mind, their symbolism within the home of a

literary man must also be taken into account. Herbert was buying furniture for the direct purpose of his studies, accounting, and correspondence, but he was also drawing the scholarly world into his domestic space through such goods as well. According to Clive Wainwright, it was expected that any scholar's library include a "solid pragmatic desk."⁷⁷ The domestic library was seen as more than a simple housing space for books, and well before the eighteenth century, private collections had also become of the sites of cultural curiosities, with owners displaying such things as coins, medals, bas-reliefs, and fossils.⁷⁸ There is no evidence in Herbert's 1723 accounts that he took the housing and display of his books to the ostentatious levels of many gentlemen, however, Herbert's acquiring of such furniture in January surely suggests more than just their functional applications. Herbert applied particular detail to their purchase in including them with his memoranda rather than on the expense page.

Another item that immediately comes to mind when considering Herbert's participation in literary culture is the August 2 purchase of medical botanist Pietro Andrea Mattioli's *Discorsi*. Herbert's copy encompassed two folio volumes at a moderately high price of £0.10.6, making it the third most expensive book purchased all year. *Discorsi* was Mattioli's frequently reprinted work on medical botany, notable for its plant classifications. Although this was certainly not the first of Herbert's books on plants or medicine, and though he went on to purchase another botanical work – Matthias de L'Obel's *Icones stirpium* – only a few weeks later, plant and herb

⁷⁷ Clive Wainwright, "The Library as a Living Room," in *Property of a Gentleman*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: Oak Knoll Press, 1991), 22.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 15.

classification books were not a prominently represented genre in Herbert's library. What makes Herbert's copy of *Discorsi* noteworthy is that it was the only work Herbert bound in 1723, in this case paying 8 shillings for both volumes. Inspection of the book immediately reveals why: besides its attractive Latin print, the book contains ornate, full-page illustrations. Possibly also appealing to Herbert's orderliness, as a taxonomy, the illustrations are ordered based on their properties and accompanied by detailed scientific descriptions. This was clearly the sort of book worth having bound and, possibly, displaying. Herbert's accounts give few indications of his attitude toward the aesthetics of his books, making this a meaningful item in the collection.

As mentioned, Herbert's book selections were often bought in kind, with same-day purchases frequently representing several of a particular genre. On April 2, the same day Herbert noted the purchase of another writing desk, Herbert broke from a series of grammar purchases to add titles with a markedly pastoral theme: *Landed Man's Companion*, *Angling for Pike*, and, two days later, John Mortimer's *The whole art of husbandry*. Mortimer's work seems to have been somewhat popular, but otherwise these books do not suggest revolutionary titles in themselves. Rather, they reveal more of the overlap between gentlemanly subjects and applied skills that appealed to Herbert and, presumably, other gentlemen. Although the simple accounts preclude Herbert's ability to explain his precise interest in these books, it is assumed that the landed status that Shrob Walk granted Herbert was the source of both his practical and popular fascination. Following these book purchases and keeping with his pastoral trend, Herbert bought a small edition of *Il Pastor Fido* only a few days later.

At the end of April, Herbert added two works in medical biology to his library. Though at that point, Herbert owned several books that broadly covered biological and medical topics, these books were unique within the scope of all years prior as Herbert's only ocular health books. Both were linked together in the expense notations as 'Read, On the Eyes – 8^o.' and 'Banister – D^o [ditto, i.e. "On the Eyes"]. – 12^o.' These were *A treatise of the eyes* by Sir William Read and *An appendent part of a treatise of one hundreth and thirteene diseases of the eyes*, an addendum work by Richard Banister originally written by Jacques Guillemeau. Read was a popular but caricatured traveling oculist working in London and the surrounding areas in the late years of the seventeenth century, both renowned and highly censured for his colorful medical claims.⁷⁹ Banister, on the other hand, was a moderately successful physician who was known for his case studies and eye treatments.⁸⁰ Ironically, Read's book is an unacknowledged publication of Banister's book with case studies recorded as if they were his own. The only differences within Read's book are the omission of one of Banister's chapters condemning fraudulent practitioners and an added section promoting an antihemorrhagic that Read marketed. By purchasing both, it seems likely that Herbert did not know about Read's plagiarism and was simply acquiring what he saw as complementary works.

The point in including these examples lies in the functional purpose of the works. Though Herbert's purchase of *Discorsi* later in the year could be grouped within the

⁷⁹ Emilie Savage-Smith, "Sir William Read (d. 1715)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004, accessed March, 2015, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.lib-ezproxy.tamu.edu:2048/view/article/23222/>.

⁸⁰ Emilie Savage-Smith, "Richard Banister (c.1570–1626)," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004, accessed March, 2015, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.lib-ezproxy.tamu.edu:2048/view/article/1283/>.

same vein of interest, Read's and Banister's books were intended as practical volumes for diagnosing and treating eye conditions, a notable difference from Herbert's more common natural philosophy. Without any related notes in the expenses or memoranda, we can only speculate about Herbert's use for them and as to whether or not he suffered from ocular health issues. The same speculation can be had of Sir John Floyer's *A treatise of the asthma*, a similarly functional medical work which Herbert purchased in November. His health aside, Herbert's procurement of these books challenge any notion that the non-lingual components of his library were entirely a product of interaction with genteel society. The range of purchases that might fall into this category, from a pricey, illustrated, two-volume botany folio to a pair of books on ocular health that may have been bought in reaction to a physical ailment suggest the strong diversity of Herbert's motives in collecting books. As with all other book purchases, Herbert's interest was a consequence of both internal and external influences.

Polylingualism

When sellers preparing for auction printed catalogs of the books to be sold, the catalog subtitles were often worded to highlight any part of the collection that differentiated it from other sales. This is widely observable through the many auction books documented the English Short Title Catalog. For Hebert's library, this differentiating subtitle was apt: "among which are to be found many uncommon and rare Books in the Oriental and most other Languages." Herbert's 1723 purchases are reflective of the early phases of the trend that would ultimately initiate such a

description. Of the large volume and variety of Herbert's book expenses in 1723, over 43% were grammars, lexicons, dictionaries, alphabets, phrase books, and other instructional language works. At this point in his life, Herbert possessed some form of grammar for 14 languages in total: Arabic, Chinese, Chaldean, Dutch, Ethiopic, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Latin, Rabbinical Hebrew, Spanish, and Syriac. For many of these, particularly the Semitic languages, 1721 to 1723 marked the beginning point of their presence in Herbert's studies. Additionally, of the 1723 works that were not grammars, more than half were in non-English tongues, containing multiple foreign languages in several cases. Additionally, polylingualism was a major theme among Herbert's books in the form of parallel texts and multilingual grammars. Titles contained up to eight different languages, as was the case with Ambrogio Calepino's two-volume octoglotton folio, purchased in late August. Considering the degree to which Herbert was remembered in death for his astuteness in the study of languages, surely he was also known as such among his friends and associates in life.

As part of his large parcel of April 30 books, Herbert recorded an expense note for 'Smith's Gr. Of 4 Languages.' Though the book under that abbreviation is missing from the title databases, it does appear in a 1712 encyclopedia *The Universal Library; Or, Compleat Summary*, by Henry Curzon. The book is named in a chapter listing popular classical language grammars, squeezed between an exhortative section about famous historical polylinguists and another concerning Egyptian hieroglyphic characters. The underlying message of the book's location in the encyclopedia and its categorization with other similar works is illustrative of both Herbert's attitude toward language study

and the social ideals that influenced him. Herbert saw the study of multiple languages as a singular effort. Though he differentiated between their respective purposes and studied some more than others, much of Herbert's work in modern and ancient languages took place simultaneously. As we have seen at work in Herbert's overall literary motives, this polylingual mentality was affected by many social patterns, such as those expressed by Curzon, and his own convictions.

Notable trends in Herbert's book purchasing history emerge with a close examination of the language books he selected. For one, Herbert's use of the term "grammar" serves as a catch-all for a much more diverse body of work. Included with Herbert's "grammars" are books containing language instruction alongside linguistic history, studies that focus on the development of root words, and translated classical works that were rewritten for instructional purposes, to name a few. Herbert demonstrated his knowledge of popular language methodologies and his connections to educational circles through his frequent purchases of active student texts. Many of these, such as Richard Busby's *Græcæ grammatices compendium*, Johannes Leusden's *A short Hebrew and Caldaick grammar*, and the works of Elias Levita had been in print for decades by the time Herbert acquired them and were established standards among institutions like Westminster School. Though his recurrent interactions with booksellers would likely have been enough to inform Herbert of these details, he did maintain some connections to the English education system through his personal associates and his informal godson, George Swift. In more than one instance, Herbert noted textbook purchases for George Swift's own language education, recording the entries in the same

manner as other gifts and making it clear that the remaining popular textbook purchases that made up his 1723 expenditures for bought for Herbert's own use.

Given these texts were intended for English schools, Herbert's purchase of textbooks most often involved works in Latin, Greek, and French. However, Herbert's entry into private language study a year prior was in Dutch. In particular, Dutch seems to have been major theme within Herbert's 1723 expenses, which is understandable given his continuing instruction in the language. In purchasing Dutch works, such as those by Willem Godschalk van Focquenbroch, Herbert demonstrated a developing command of the language, particularly in the latter half of 1723, a full year after the start of his tutoring. At the beginning of the year, Herbert subscribed to Dutch news and received it throughout 1723. Given the relative lack of political developments between Britain and the Netherlands in 1723, it is likely that this subscription was entirely for lingual educational purposes. Herbert's confidence in Dutch shows in his progressive reading of Dutch print, beginning with Cornelis Drebbel's natural philosophy treatise, *Een kort tractaet van de natuere der elementen*, in June. Taking his study of Dutch even further, by August Herbert had begun to read translated works intended for Dutch readers learning other languages, as seen in Herbert's August 31 purchase of a German Bible published for Dutch speakers. Although this may simply have been another stage in Herbert's ongoing Dutch studies, it was more likely another extension of Herbert's standing on polylingualism and a wish to incorporate his Dutch into that which he was already doing in the classics.

As the breadth of Herbert's language proficiency expanded, so did the number of Dutch, French, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, and Latin bibles in his collection. Together with the growing proliferation of household bibles,⁸¹ Herbert's actions are best understood along the lines of the tradition of critical translation in attempts to recover meaning within biblical texts.⁸² Herbert not only identified with his languages for the channels they opened to modern scholarship. The desire to access the scriptures seems to have been just as strong a factor in Herbert's polylingual pursuits. The genteel motives that drove Herbert's reception of popular attitudes toward language cannot be separated from his piety. Like so many other facets of Herbert's behavior, his language study was a multilayered process.

The first argument in R. Campbell's quote discussed previously, which precedes his statement on the need for universal subject knowledge among book experts, points to an even greater necessity that the literary "ought to have a Taste for Languages."⁸³ Herbert placed a certain priority on language because of the intellectual access multilingualism provided to someone in his social location. Of all the pursuits that could typify a gentleman's library, language was given imminence. When combined with the order of living suggested by his meticulous accounts, it comes as no surprise that Herbert would saturate his daily life with the study of languages. Language learning accompanied accounting and book collecting in filling Herbert's domestic space. When also driven forward by Herbert's desire to take ownership of his subjects in the same

⁸¹ Green, 79.

⁸² Ibid., 46.

⁸³ Harris, ix.

way his accounting brought order to his life, the outcomes produced were the often excessive but always sincere behavioral traits observed from the evidence of Herbert's accounts.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

A little more than a year after Herbert finished his December, 1723 accounts, he was entered at Gray's Inn. 1728 marked the death of Thomas Herbert, an event that deeply affected Edmund and one that he described in his correspondence. After a subsequent decade working at the Marine Pay Office, Herbert was appointed Deputy Paymaster in 1740, earning an annual salary of £400 by 1750.⁸⁴

Herbert's copious book collecting continued well into the years following 1723, as did Herbert's study of languages. In 1726, Herbert began study of German with "Mr. Moses" and returned to his study of Low Dutch with Mr. Vander-Eyken. This same year, Herbert began keeping his expense accounts in German. Later in 1726, Herbert began an educational relationship with "Mr. Marcus," whose instruction continued for at least two more years and encompassed study of Chaldean, Rabbinical Hebrew, and Syriac. In 1730, Herbert began the same partnership with "Mr. Xeres" but in the study of Greek, and like in 1726, kept his expense records using Greek characters. Between years of instruction and Herbert's simultaneous self-teaching, by the end of his life, Herbert had come to study a total of sixteen languages. At its height Herbert's library likely numbered well into the thousands.

The manner in which Herbert conducted his life and the ways in which he pursued control through his accounting strongly affected his approach to book collecting

⁸⁴ Online Archive of California.

and study. Herbert's tendency to "account" his social interactions is suggestive in this sense as well. Herbert sought to apply to his library the same translation of his bookkeeping that had taken root in the documentation of his social life. Equally so, Herbert's choice of language as a primary pursuit resulted in its near obsessive representation among his book collection.

However true this treatment of Herbert may be, one cannot allow the critique of historical subjects to portray a purely skeptical image. Though the growth of Herbert's need to survey and extend order over his domestic affairs was certainly a major part of the practice Herbert built for himself, it does not preclude an earnest attentiveness to the subjects. As seen in the variety of Herbert's books that, when patched together, help to recreate his motives, Herbert's attraction to his studies was often simultaneously influenced by eighteenth century print culture and his own discreet interests. The spectrum of books outside of Herbert's language studies reveals this in its inclusion of works that seem overtly typical of gentlemen's libraries together with lesser known volumes that appealed directly to Herbert. Similarly to the individual characteristics that Martin's and William Herbert's libraries took on in the midst of their interface with print culture, Herbert's collection too bore the markings of something that was both externally motivated and highly personal.

Observing these characteristics in 1723 discloses to an even greater extent the level at which Herbert's identity was forming. In one sense, he desired interaction with London society and thus sought the secondary benefits and recognition of participating in literary practices. At the same time, Herbert was approaching middle age, and his

concern for his relationship with societal trends was beginning to lose out to the facets of his bookkeeping that appealed inwardly. Regardless of whether or not Herbert's interests in collecting and languages begun this way, by 1723, Herbert had begun to take firm control over his collecting and scholarly interests. In this sense, Herbert's book collecting is better understood as his own extension of stability into the world itself, a reaction to his own passions and his desire for a social place. The study of a single year risks losing sight of much larger, ongoing trends that could reveal more about Herbert's character. However, by focusing upon the finest details of the objects that truly mattered to Herbert, his books, one can hope to better discern the complexity of motivation and influence that formed a literary man during such a transitory stage.

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APPENDIX

EDMUND HERBERT'S 1723 BOOK EXPENSES

TITLE	PRIMARY AUTHOR	SECONDARY AUTHOR(S)	PUB.	SIZE	CITATION	AUCTION	HERBERT'S NOTATION	PURCH.	£.s.d.	(d.)
	Aesop			8vo			Fab. Æsopi Gr. & Lat. 8°.	7-Jun	0.1.6	18
<i>Annotations upon the five bookes of Moses, and the booke of the Psalmes</i>	Ainsworth, Henry		1622*	4to	S113425*	80, 2811*	Ainsworth's Psalmes 4to.	{4-Jul	0.0.3	3
<i>Albertus Magnus de Secretis Mulierum</i>	Albertus, Magnus	Michaelis Scoti	1648*	12mo	319718400*		Magnus de Secr. Mul. 12°.	{7-Dec	0.1.6	18
<i>De proprietatibus rerum</i>	Anglicus, Bartholomaeus		1480*	fo	200811*		Bartholo. Anglicus Fol.	22-Jun	0.1.6	18
<i>Batman uppon Bartholome</i>	Anglicus, Bartholomaeus	Stephen Batman	1582	fo	509460	38, 1173	Bat. Upon Bart. Fol.	31-Aug	0.1.0	12
<i>D. Magni Ausonii Burdigalensis Opera</i>	Ausonius	Jacobus Tollius; Joan Blaeu	1669	24mo	23645079	118, 4196	Ansonii Opera 24°.	{27-Mar	0.0.6	6
<i>An universal etymological English dictionary</i>	Bailey, Nathan		1721*	8vo	T87493*	104, 3805*	Bayly's Dict. 8°.	9-Dec	0.7.0	84
<i>A new italian grammar</i>	Barton, Mr.		1719	12mo	N64138		Barton's Italian Gramr. [12°.]	{23-Feb	0.1.0	12
<i>Vraye instruction des trois langues</i>	Beyer, Guillaume		1660*	8vo	R234700*		Beyer's Engl. Fr. & Dutch Gr. [8°.]	2-Aug	0.0.6	6
<i>Nomo-lexikon: A law-dictionary</i>	Blount, Thomas		1691	fo	R11153*	48, 1525	Blount's Law Dict. Fol.	28-Nov	0.0.0	0
<i>Le compaignon sage & ingenieux, anglois & François</i>	Boyer, Abel		1700*	8vo	R37125	104, 3793*	Boyer's ingen. Companion 8°.	13-Nov	0.1.6	18
<i>Barnabæ itinerarium</i>	Brathwait, Richard		1636*	12mo	S231*		Barnab. Itinerarium [12°.]	{2-Mar	0.1.6	18
<i>Enquiries touching the diversity of languages, and religions</i>	Brerewood, Edward		1635	4to	S106414	88, 3060	Brerewood's Diversity of Lang. [4to.]	6-Dec	0.1.6	18
<i>Græcæ linguæ historia</i>	Burton, William		1657	8vo	R6218*		Gr. Ling. Hist. a Burtono 8°.	{30-Apr	0.1.0	12
<i>Græcæ grammatices compendium</i>	Busby, Richard		1647*	8vo	R218814*		Busbeii Gr. Gram. 8°.	4-Apr	0.1.6	18
<i>Lyra prophetica Davidis Regis</i>	Bythner, Victorinus		1650*	4to	R11154*	67, 2382	Bythneri Psalmi 4°.	21-Feb	0.6.6	78
<i>Ambrosii Calepini Dictionarium octolingue</i>	Calepino, Ambrogio	Jean Passerat	1609	fo	457238090*	25, 741	Calepini Dict. 2 V. Fol.	31-Aug	0.5.0	60
<i>Catechismo cio e formulario per ammaestrare i fanciulli ne la religione Christiana</i>	Calvin, John	Giulio Domenico Gallo	1545*	8vo	558978423*		Cat. Eccl. Galls. (Gr. & Lat.) 8°.	{7-Dec	0.2.0	24
<i>Königlich Teutsche Grammatik</i>	Canel (Canal), Pierre		1689*	4to	257583281*		Canel's Fr. & Germ. Gra. 4°.	{4-Jul	0.0.6	6

TITLE	PRIMARY AUTHOR	SECONDARY AUTHOR(S)	PUB.	SIZE	CITATION	AUCTION	HERBERT'S NOTATION	PURCH.	£.s.d.	(d.)
<i>Ἑλληνισμός</i> [<i>Ellēnismos</i>]	Canini, Angelo		1555*	4to*	151684		Caninii Gr. Gramr.	{27-Mar	0.0.6	6
<i>Oratio dominica : in diversas omnium fere gentium linguas</i> (152)	Chamberlayne, John	David Wilkins	1715	4to	474749173*	67, 2121	Oratio Dom. 152 Ling. &c. 4to.	28-Nov	0.4.0	48
<i>The angler's vade mecum</i>	Chetham, James		1681*	8vo	R224297*		Angler's Vade Mecum 8°.	{30-Apr	0.2.0	24
<i>Grammatica Germanicæ linguæ</i>	Clajus, Johannes		1578*	12mo	179717477*		Germ. Gram. Claii 12°.	2-Apr	0.0.4	4
<i>Institutiones Linguae Graecae</i>	Cleynaerts, Nicolaes	Gerardus Joannes Vossius	1660	4to	314167112*	100, 3643	Clenard. Inst. Gr. Ling. 4to.	{7-Dec	0.5.0	60
<i>Philippi Cluverii Introductionis in universam geographiam</i>	Clüver, Philipp		1686*	4to	23056948*	61, 1914*	Cluvering's Geogr. 4to.	6-Sep	0.8.0	96
<i>Januae linguarum reseratae aureae Vestibulum</i>	Comenius, Johann Amos		1643	8vo	29398386	100, 3651	Lat. Fr. & Flem. Vestibulum. 8°.	{30-Apr	0.1.0	12
<i>Naukeurige beschryving van gantsch Syrie, en Palestyn of Heilige Lant</i>	Dapper, Olfant		1677*	fo	4782190*		Heiligh Lant. O. Dapper Fo.	{26-Sep	0.3.0	36
<i>De treurige doch bly-eyndighende Historie van Onsen Tydt</i>	d'Audiguier, Vital	Jacob Heerman	1600*	12mo	68839809*	40, 1238*	Lysandr. & Calista, Fr. & Dutch 12°.	2-Aug	0.1.0	12
<i>Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes</i>	de Fontenelle, Bernard Le Bovier		1719	12mo	T137573	217, 8261	Plural. des Mondes 12°.	30-Aug	0.0.6	6
<i>A new and easy method to understand the Roman history</i>	de Fourcroy, Abbé		1695*	12mo	R10724*		Methode Rom. Hist. 12°.	7-Jun	0.1.6	18
<i>Five love-letters from a nun to a cavalier</i>	de Guilleragues, Gabriel		1678*	12mo	R6558*		Lrs. from a Nun to a Cavr. 12°.	7-Jun	0.1.0	12
<i>A theological systeme upon the presupposition, that men were before Adam the first part</i>	de La Peyrère, Isaac		1655	12mo	R3839	123, 4396	Præadamitæ 12°.	6-Feb	0.1.0	12
<i>Den koophandel van Amsterdam</i>	de L'Espine, Jacques Le Moine	Isaac Le Long	1714*	8vo	83310597*		Koophandel van Amst. 8°.	{13-May	0.1.0	12
<i>Icones stirpium seu plantarum tam exoticarum</i>	de L'Obel, Matthias		1591*	fo	312351734*	33, 1012*	Herbarium. M. de Lobel. Fo.	{26-Sep	0.3.0	36
<i>Pantheologia, sive Summa universae theologiae</i>	de Pisis, Rainerius	Jacobus Florentinus	1486	fo	991627	42, 1306	Rainerius de Pisis 2 V. Fol.	22-Jun	0.5.0	60
	de Saint-Réal, César Vichard			8vo			Hist. Real de la Gran Brit. 8°.	28-Nov	0.2.6	30
<i>Le Parfait mareschal</i>	de Solleysel, Jacques		1654*	4to	458933752*	92, 3210*	Le Parfait Mareschal 4°.	25-May	0.4.0	48
<i>La sacra bibbia</i>	Diodati, Giovanni		1641	4to	8869901	4, 78	Bib. Ital. Diodati 4to.	3-Jun	0.6.0	72
<i>Een kort tractaet van de natuere der elementen</i>	Drebbel, Cornelis		1621*	12mo	9274844*		Drebbel van de Elementn. 12°.	11-Jun	0.0.6	6
<i>A state of the proceedings of the Corporation of the governours of the Bounty of Queen Anne</i>	Ecton, John		1719*	8vo	T136242*		Ecton's Boty. Q. Anne 8°.	11-Nov	0.3.6	42
<i>Nomenclator quadrilinguis Latino-Germanico-Graeco-Gallicus</i>	Emmel, Helfricus		1592*	8vo	245776746*		Emmellii N. Clator. 4 Ling. 2 V. 8°.	{7-Dec	0.2.6	30
<i>Grammaire grecque</i>	Enoc, Louis		1546	8vo	94852		Enoc's Gr. Gram. 8°.	{30-Apr	0.2.0	24
	Erasmus, Desiderius			8vo			Erasm. Coll. Low Dutch 8°.	7-Jan	0.2.0	24

TITLE	PRIMARY AUTHOR	SECONDARY AUTHOR(S)	PUB.	SIZE	CITATION	AUCTION	HERBERT'S NOTATION	PURCH.	£.s.d.	(d.)
<i>Thesaurus græcæ linguæ</i>	Estienne, Henri		1572*	8vo	450616		Stephens's Gr. Alphabt. 8°.	14-Feb	0.7.6	90
<i>Joh. Alberti Fabricii bibliotheca Latina</i>	Fabricius, Johann Albert		1608	8vo	T182553	101, 3663	Alberti Biblia Lat. 8°.	7-Jun	0.3.6	42
<i>The answer of the Earl of Nottingham to Mr. Whiston's letter to him</i>	Finch, Daniel		1721*	8vo	N2034*		Ld. Nottm. Agst. Whiston. &c.	18-Jan	0.3.6	42
<i>A treatise of the asthma</i>	Floyer, Sir John		1698*	8vo	R6812*		Floyer on the Asthma 8°.	28-Nov	0.3.0	36
<i>The history of the Old and New Testament</i>	Fontaine, Nicolas		1691	8vo	R177147	220, 8393	L'Hist. Vet. & Nov. Test. par Royaut.	24-Jan	0.3.0	36
<i>The text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ</i>	Fulke, William		1589*	fo	S107061*		Fulke's N. Testamt. Fol.	18-Jun	0.2.6	30
<i>Geography anatomized: or, A compleat geographical grammer</i>	Gordon, Patrick		1693*	8vo	R40913*	159, 5884*	Gordon's Geogr. Gr. 8°.	17-Dec	0.4.6	54
<i>De veritate religionis Christianæ</i>	Grotius, Hugo		1632*	12mo	S122528*	126, 4529*	Hugo Grot. Xn. Rel. 12°.	18-Jan	0.2.0	24
<i>Le berger fidele: traduit de l'italien de Guarini en vers françois</i>	Guarini, Battista		1705*	8vo	488776655*	224, 8560*	Il Pastor Fido. It & Fr. 12°.	10-Apr	0.2.0	24
<i>An appendent part of a treatise of one hundreth and thirteene diseases of the eyes</i>	Guillemeau, Jacques	Richard Banister	1621	12mo	S92784		Banister, D°. 12°.	{30-Apr	0.1.6	18
<i>The excellency of moral vertue</i>	Hallywell, Henry		1692	8vo	15737823*	147, 5403	Hallywell's Disco. 8°.	11-Sep	0.2.6	30
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